

Message Text

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

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FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3485

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMCONSUL DURBAN

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MASERU

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L CAPE TOWN 383

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINT WA SF UN

SUBJ: SWA: BLACK LEADERS REMAIN PUBLICLY SILENT ON WALDHEIM
REPORT

1. NATIONAL CONVENTION (NC), LOOSE CONFEDERATION OF ANTI- SAG
BLACK POLITICAL GROUPS IN NAMIBIA, STILL HAS MADE NO STATEMENT
ON UN SYG WALDHEIM' S REPORT TO SC AND ON SAG POSITION CONTAINED
IN THAT REPORT. NC LEADERS SAY THEY DO NOT HAVE FULL TEXT OF
WALDHEIM REPORT AND CANNOT MAKE JUDGMENT UNTIL THEY RECEIVE
AND STUDY IT. WHILE THERE MAY BE SOME TRUTH IN THIS ASSERTION,
ON MAY 15 NC DEPUTY CHAIRMAN CHIEF CLEMENS KAPUUNO ADMITTED TO
POL COUNSELOR PETTERSON IN KATATURA, WINDHOEK' S BLACK TOWNSHIP,
THAT THERE DISAGREEMENT AMONG NC MEMBERS AS TO WHAT THEIR
STATEMENT SHOULD SAY. KAPUUNO SAID MINORITY WANTED TO ISSUE
FLAT REJECTION OF SAG POSITION AND OF CONTINUATION OF SYG' S

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MANDATE. MAJORITY , HOWEVER, DECIDED WAIT TO SEE WHAT DEVELOPS

IN OAU, AND POSSIBLY SC AS WELL, BEFORE COMMITTING NC.

2. NC, IT SHOULD BE REMEMBERED, IS NOT A WELL- STRUCTURED, EFFECTIVELY OPERATING POLITICAL BODY. ITS ORGANIZATION IS RUDIMENTARY AND IT SORELY LACKS ADEQUATE FINANCIAL RESOURCES. ALTHOUGH KAPUUNO HAS BECOME WELL KNOWN, HE IS NOT STRONG LEADER AROUND WHO DISPARATE ETHNIC AND POLITICAL ELEMENTS REPRESENTED IN NC COULD COALESCE. NC LACKS COHERENT PLAN OF ACTION BEYOND NEGATIVE APPROACH TO SA CONTROL OF SWA. NEVERTHELESS, ANTIPATHY TOWARD SAG HAS GIVEN NC SUFFICIENT UNITY FOR IT TO FORM AND TO SURVIVE, THEREBY PROVIDING ANTI- SAG BLACKS WITH PLATFORM FROM WHICH THEY CAN EXPRESS THEIR COMMON VIEWPOINTS. MOREOVER, ALTHOUGH ESTIMATES DIFFER AS TO AMOUNT OF SUPPORT IT HAS AMONG BLACK PEOPLES OF SWA, OBSERVERS IN THE TERRITORY GENERALLY AGREE THAT NC REPRESENTS POLITICAL OPINIONS OF MOST POLITICALLY CONSCIOUS BLACK NAMIBIANS.

3. DESPITE FACT THAT OFFICIAL NC POLICY IS TO DEFER COMMENTING ON WALDHEIM REPORT, IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS WITH PETERSON VARIOUS LEADING FIGURES OF NC MADE IT CLEAR THEY HARBOUR DEEP AND ABIDING MISTRUST OF SAG AND DO NOT BELIEVE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE MADE ANY CONCESSIONS ON SWA. KAPUUNO, GERSON VEII (SWANU, FOREIGN AFFAIRS SECRETARY FOR NC), DAVID MERORO (SWAPO) AND THREE LESSER LIGHTS OF NC ALL SAID THAT IF SAG MEANT WHAT IT SAID TO WALDHEIM, WHY DID IT CONTINUE IMPLEMENT BANTUSTAN POLICY BY GRANTING SELF- GOVERNMENT TO OWAMBO AND KAVANGO RIGHT AFTER WALDHEIM MADE HIS REPORT? (CAPE TOWN 353). AND WHY HAS SAG PARTICIPATED IN ARREST OF NC MEMBERS JOHANNES NANGUTUUALA, JOHNNY OTTO AND SEVERAL OTHERS IN OWAMBO? (CAPE TOWN 352).

4. WHILE CONCEDING THAT SAG ACTIONS IN THESE MATTERS INEPT AT BEST, PETERSON, DRAWING ON SUBSTANCE OF USUN 1669 AND CAPE TOWN 345, POINTED OUT THAT ALTERNATIVES TO CONTINUATION OF UN- SAG CONTACT AND DIALOGUE HELD NO REAL PROMISE FOR PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA, THAT ESCALATION OF RHETORIC AND DEMANDS IN UN WOULD PRODUCE NO SC SANCTIONS AGAINST SA. HE ACKNOWLEDGED BLACK NAMIBIANS HAD EVERY REASON TO MISTRUST SAG, BUT NOTED THAT WORDING OF SAG RESPONSE TO WALDHEIM REPRESENTED SHARP DEPARTURE FROM PREVIOUS ADAMANT STANCE SAG HAD TAKEN ON SWA. WORDS HAVE NOT YET BEEN TRANSLATED INTO DEEDS AND SAG' S INTENTION COULD BE CONFIDENTIAL
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TO MISLEAD AND TO BUY MORE TIME. BUT THERE COULD BE SOMETHING NEW BEHIND PROPOSALS AND WHAT WOULD BE LOST BY PUTTING SOUTH AFRICANS TO THE TEST? WHETHER THEY SINCERE IN EFFECTING CHANGES WOULD BE APPARENT BEFORE LONG.

5. NONE OF NC LEADERS SEEMED TO HAVE GIVEN SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO ALTERNATIVES TO CONTINUATION OF SYG' S INITIATIVE. HOWEVER, EACH WAS NON- COMMITTAL AND LEFT IMPRESSION NC WOULD OPT IN FAVOR OF REJECTING SAG PROPOSALS. THIS DESPITE FACT THAT KAPUUNO' S

LONG- HELD FAITH THAT UN WILL TAKE CONTROL OF SWA SEEMS TO BE
WAVERING AND THAT VEII SAYS HE FULLY AWARE UN WILL NOT COME TO
RESCUE OF BLACKS IN SWA.

6. COMMENT: NATIONAL CONVENTION' S INTRANSIGENCE AND LACK OF
FAITH IN SAG INTENTIONS ARE UNDERSTANDABLE, GIVEN PAST HISTORY
OF WHITES' DUPLICITY AND REPRESSION OF BLACKS IN SWA. IT
POSSIBLE, ACCORDING SOME SOURCES, THAT SOME NC MEMBERS (E. G. ,
REHOBOTH BASTERS) MAY IN TIME CHOOSE TO SIT ON MULTI- RACIAL
ADVISORY COUNCIL. BUT ON CRUCIAL IMMEDIATE ISSUE OF WHETHER TO
SUPPORT PROPOSALS IN WALDHEIM REPORT, IT APPEARS NC WILL,
RATHER THAN REVEAL DISAGREEMENT WITHIN ITS RANKS, CHOOSE TO
REMAIN SILENT AT LEAST UNTIL AFTER OAU MEETING. HOWEVER,
FORTHCOMING TRIAL OF OVAMBOS AND ANY OTHER UNFAVORABLE EVENTS
IN OWAMBO OR ELSEWHERE IN TERRITORY COULD IMPEL THEM TO DECLARE
AGAINST CONTINUATION OF UN- SAG DIALOGUE.
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